

THE PRESENT  
CRISIS OF THE COLONIES

CONSIDERED

WITH SOME

OBSERVATIONS ON THE NECESSITY OF  
PROPERLY CONNECTING THEIR  
COMMERCIAL INTEREST WITH

GREAT BRITAIN

AND

AMERICA.

ADDRESSED TO THE

DUKE OF RICHMOND:

WITH A LETTER TO

LORD PERRHYN,

RELATIVE TO THE DEAN OF GLOCESTER'S DIS-  
TINCTION BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND  
IRISH FLAG.

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John William  
1.





TO HIS GRACE

THE

DUKE OF RICHMOND.

MY LORD,

**T**HE conspicuous part which you have taken to assist the patriotic exertion of several able citizens, to defend the people's happiness, by making the foundation of their representation free and clear, as the vital spring of Liberty was intended by the God of Nature, attach me to your political sentiments; and I am therefore anxious to see them extended to the Sugar Colonies, whose situation is as delicate as their possession is important. They may



be made to contribute that commercial cement, so much wanted to fill up the vacuum made by the loss of the Provincial Colonies, which once partook of your anxiety.

The Act of Navigation, a collection of maritime wisdom, might recover its lost influence by means of the colonies; but harsh struggles at present will only make the loss more irreparable,—this is manifest, from many attempts of power which have proved suicidal; firmness is still requisite, tho' blended with delicacy and address. Agreeably to this idea, I have submitted to your perusal, some interesting considerations, relative to the colonies, which demand attention.—With a sincere love to my country, my mite of information is given, and as a pebble is sometimes assumed in the most important building, to give strength, tho' not beauty, with such humble expectations, I offer



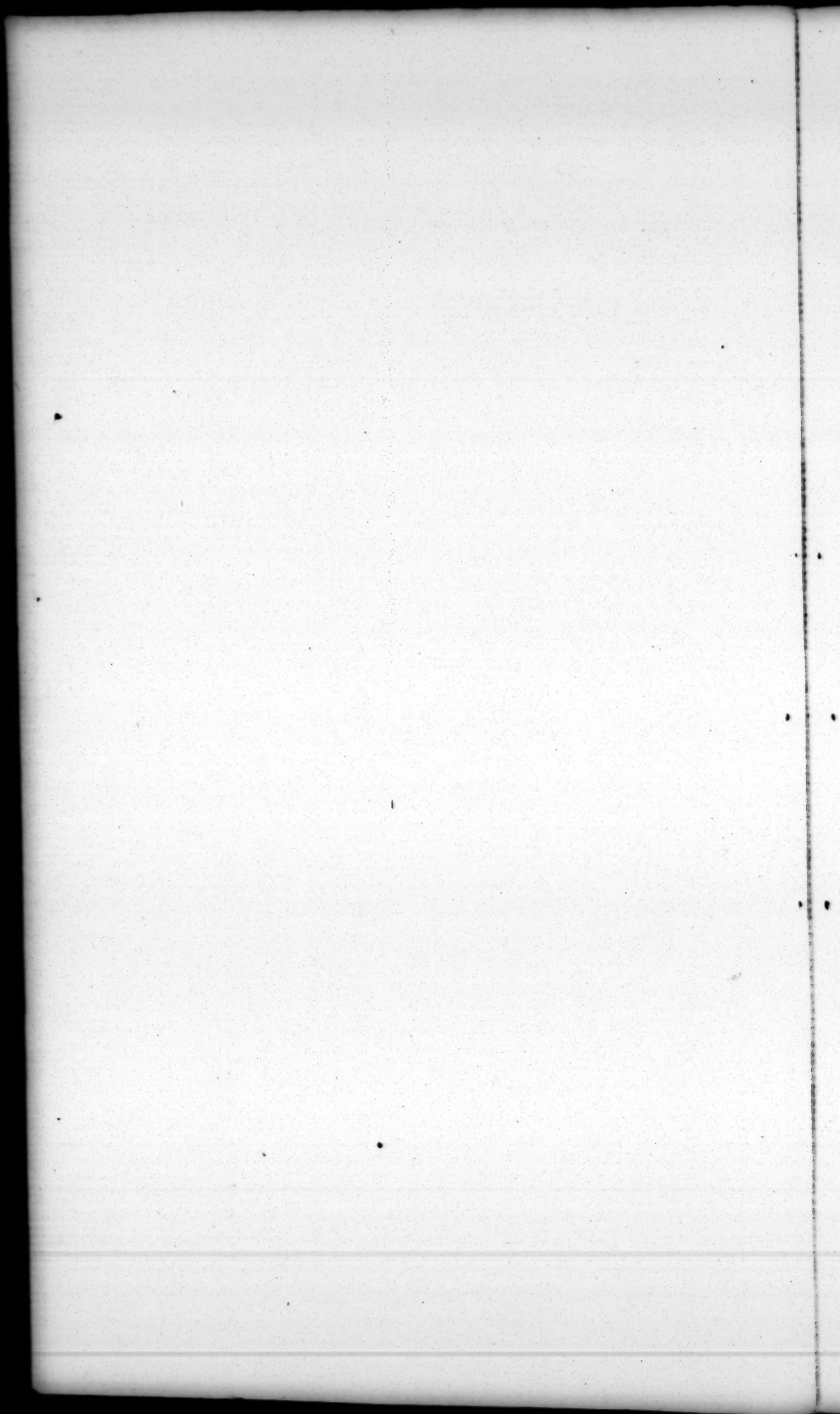
## DEDICATION.

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fer my opinion relative to the Colonies;  
I have the honor to be, with very true  
and genuine respect and regard,

Your Grace's most obedient, &c.

THE AUTHOR.



THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
LORD PENRHYN,

MY LORD,

**T**HE selection of your Lordship by the planters and merchants to preside at their late meetings, is a proof of their opinion of your zeal and integrity; and the union of both, is essential to do justice to a cause, however good;—and give me leave to observe, that the more the situation of the Colonies is examined, the more they appear to be objects of concern, increased by a view of events, still possible, and of which the late war has left a true perspective:—Still I flatter myself with the hopes, that the mischief which sprang from a narrow policy, which darkened the last period, will receive a remedy to do honor to the present. It must be allow'd, that the present Minister has been surrounded with difficulties, not a  
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page in the English history can equal; and as they have arisen by the folly of one, and cherish'd by the obstinacy of another, to overcome their stubborn effects, requires the utmost stretch of wisdom. At this crisis, every good citizen should look upon his country, as the sympathetic Samaritan look'd at and reliev'd the affliction of even a stranger. England has long been in that situation, which first one and then another viewed and pass'd by, leaving her sufferings still unreliev'd, until the mercy of God gave a hand to stop her wounds, and pour into them the balsam of peace. But to communicate the blessings of such, to the Colonies, still requires great exertions, suitable to the novel circumstances of actual and probable distress, which the planters feel and may justly apprehend. Such, however, even ingenuity is employ'd to augment, and render more excruciating. The Dean of Gloucester has avowed a doctrine, which tends to cut up the Colonies by  
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the roots. It draws the most cruel inference from the noblest principle of commerce, which ever raised the credit of this, or any other nation. It strikes at the whole structure of the colonial system of England, and would raise upon its destruction, the trade of those colonies, which under the unlimited monarchy of other kingdoms, have been hitherto depressed, and unable to make any returns of profit, similar to that which the more prosperous colonies of England have made; and by such, enriched the merchants, and supported government in many most important instances. In short, the Dean's opinions go to reverse the pyramid of national honor and commerce, and fix both upon a point of very illiberal policy, instead of resting them on a solid basis, upon which they have so long been supported. The Dean advises the Irish to trade with foreigners, for sugar and other colony produce, in preference to the English, and under the Irish flag; recommends

recommends it to the English merchants to avail themselves, and carry on the same new and adventurous commerce.

Your Lordship cannot but perceive, that the Dean inculcates a very dangerous doctrine, by making a distinction between the flags of England and Ireland; as under the one, he would teach the subjects of the same King to claim advantages, (such he calls them) which would promote the ruin of another description of his subjects, who would be still under his controul. A source of more jealousy, and unnatural contests, never sprang from the ingenuity of man; from such a polluted fountain of mischief, every treaty of commerce would become a delusive phantom. After three year's continuance of the Dean's commercial system, the Colonies would become uncultivated deserts; the capital invested in them, be totally lost in thorns and rubbish;



bish; and the royal navy become insupportable. Ambassadors from England could no longer support the dignity of their function, or know the line which should govern the Irish and English upon foreign ground:—This is only a sketch of the picture the Dean has drawn, to lessen the consequence of the English; not from design, but from notions taken up with a partial reflection, relative to those springs of commerce, which first arose from the foundation of Liberty under an English government; and which at this day every effort is making, by other countries, to adopt and confine, if possible, within their own dominions. Were partial marks of power, and discordant distinctions, like those suggested by the Dean, to be permitted for a short time to disgrace England and Ireland, even during a general peace; what would be the result of such a monstrous incongruity of government, should a war break out? In that case, to regulate the capture of ships,

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or direct the rudder, would be a most difficult task. Binkershoek, Grotius, and other civilians, would be no longer able to ascertain the jarring claims, which would be made under the English and Irish flags; as directed by the Dean, to elude the external laws framed to govern the trade, and proclaim the sovereignty of England. The same oath, which binds the King at his coronation, is, with a kindred solemnity, taken by the Privy Counsellors, to do justice to the general laws of the realm and its king;—what Privy Counsellor could possibly advise such distinctions, as the Dean, in his new theory, inadvertently endeavours to propagate. Every man of common sense, must allow the reasonableness of the Irish independency of their own Parliament, the great council of that kingdom; but still the third branch of the Legislature retains his power, as King and executive Magistrate. Therefore, under the same government, the constitutions of England and Ireland are coexistent.

ent. To remove the hereditary emblem of power, is as unjust and unconstitutional, as to invade the thatch'd castle of a free subject ;—the same hedge which protects the land-marks of government, guards the land-marks of Liberty. In the word government, I include all the blessings of society, which the English, from father to son, hand down as an inheritance ; and which the Irish would not have derived from any other government, and are certainly obliged to the struggles of the English for the possession they now enjoy, and I hope, will for ever enjoy, upon the same. The value of coin in different nations, in the first aspect, shews the image and superscription, by which it is acknowledged and suffered to pass from one to another nation. This could not be the case, were the old received standards to be supplanted by the springs of fancy. The flag of a kingdom carries the same image and superscription, and what is due to Cæsar should not



not be withheld. The colonies have long consumed the fat produce of the Irish pastures, and paid liberally for such and other branches of Irish commerce; in the increase of colony trade, Ireland will receive infinite benefit, if she avails herself of the privileges lately given by England, to trade to directly and use the Colonies as her own.

Having such an influence of commerce, under the congenial spirit of the English, to support, and make it not only profitable, but lasting; what friend to Ireland would attempt to trade with other states, dark in council, impenetrable in views of authority, in the exercise of power despotic, and in the end of government, totally devoted to promote a Grand Monarch's will and his favorites, without any solid basis being fix'd for the liberal enjoyment of trade, of port duties, or of any other principle to be depended upon;—just to buy cheap sugar, and avail it-  
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self of such œconomy for a single year, would be prodigality for a life—and Ireland has too much sense not to know this fact exactly. In their middle situation, the Colonies might still firmer attach England and Ireland; in their middle situation, the Colonies might assist to associate the trade of England and America; and by such a salutary measure, enable the States to pay their debts in produce, not having any other means of discharging them. This opinion I adopted, when I endeavoured to prevent the American war, as I now do to blot out the effects of it. It is my greatest happiness to reflect, that I prevailed on Doctor Franklin, and others, to meet at the Thatch'd House, to consider on the means most likely to crush the measure, which then began to bud, and in such, to promise the fruit we have seen and tasted. Having long devoted my time to effect the good of my country, I now publish some opinions, from no other motive, but to accomplish

complish the good of those I wish well to. Happy to see a gleam of light shoot thro' the political atmosphere, long over-clouded with disgrace and misfortune ;—happy in the hope of seeing a liberal system adopted, to make the Colonies prosperous ; and, as they rise in strength, to cement them still firmer to the parent country.

I have the honor to be,

Your Lordship's most obedient,

THE AUTHOR.

*P. S.* I have finished a full answer to the Dean of Gloucester, and mean to publish it.



THE PRESENT  
C R I S I S  
OF THE  
SUGAR COLONIES.

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SECTION I.

**W**AR apparently has exhausted its force; and as the flame has subsided, for want of fuel to support it, different courts, train'd by habit to look at each other with an eye of jealousy, assume the smile of peace, still retaining in their hearts the canker of war: it is notorious, how active the French continue to be in keeping up their navy, which, at the  
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conclusion of hostilities, was left in a formidable condition, to flatter a nation, whose chief vanity is to contend against the English. On the one hand, the united voice of France condemn the restitution of Grenada, and those valuable islands which were captured during the war: on the other hand, the last Parliament condemned the terms of the peace, tho' it did not obstruct its ratification. Such sentiments rankle in the bosom of each rival power; and from such, it is but reasonable to infer, that the interval will prove to be little better than an armed Truce. The language of the French, made more insulting by the humble condition of the Dutch, and the gratification of the Emperor, is a prelude to an extension of empire, aimed at by bringing both, victims to the altar of their ambition:—under such designs, to dictate to Europe, the embers of war will be preserved; and tho' bankruptcy has arisen, to shew the folly of grasping at too extensive

a dominion, yet the lust of it will assuredly prevail.

The king of Prussia, at the sun-set of his understanding, has sacrificed, as his neighbours have done, at the shrine of the Bourbonian king ; this melancholy truth is but too plainly to be seen in the command of the Dutch army, which has been given to a general appointed by the court of Versailles. After a short review of these occurrences, no man of common sense can entertain a doubt of the loss of the balance of power, which the wisdom of nations once united to rescue from the insidious court in which it now preponderates ; from which, in various shapes, every obstruction will be made to prevent the English from re-establishing their lost dominion in the world of commerce. Hence the policy of the Minister should be doubly on its guard, to elude the stratagems of the enemy, who are assuredly on the watch, and active in Ireland, and in every quarter of the West Indies, to keep



England from reassuming the rank she once possessed in the general opinion of philosophers, for her wisdom and superiority of knowledge. In a situation so critical, experience is the guide, whose hand should be most anxiously taken to recover those beds of commerce that have been disturbed, or totally lost. To call back the old spirit, by which our colonies were cherished and made flourishing, it is but just to take a short view of the causes and effects comprised in the history of the English and French colonies ; this retrospect will point out what should be done to keep up our own, and prevent the rival islands from rising on the ruins of those, to whose prosperity England has been so much indebted for the increase and support of her royal navy. To proceed, I think it but expedient, to prevent error from propagating, and to say a word relative to a respectable writer, who declares an opinion that the money now invested in the colonies, would turn out much better were it called in, and invested in clearing and improving

improving the lands of England. That fifty millions would have a most decisive advantage in the cultivation of the lands of England, or any other country, is undoubtedly true; and were some parts of the kingdom to be deserted, and the care now employed in such devoted to the improvement of the wilds of Kent, the result would be beneficial to the proprietors of that waste land; but what extent of power would this measure require? What injustice would it not realize in a stride so arbitrary? The injustice would be the same, were the fifty millions invested in the colonies to be arbitrarily removed, and employed, as the author, I allude to, would infer; however, it is far from being true that so much money has ever been lent by England for the advancement of the colonies. Their capital has gradually arisen from industry, that languished in England for want of employment, and that industry invited followers from all parts of the world, who have all assisted to raise the structure of the colonies.

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In the great work, England assuredly did give her arm; and materials were wisely and liberally sent out; but by whom? By the merchant. What was this merchant in the infant state of the Sugar Islands? The answer carries some useful lights on the beneficial trade and culture of the West Indies, and it is plainly this: The old merchant was not very rich, but generally allied to some enterprising planter, whose life was the pledge of his country's future benefit, and to whose industry and enterprise the merchant advanced his money; smoking his pipe at the Hambro' or Old Lloyd's coffee house, with the hopes of a lucrative trade, he encouraged the insurer to offer a policy to the world, that every bale of goods exported from England, should be safe from all the dangers most alarming to the monied man, or manufacturer. Thus in every stage of the earliest period, security was given to England to preserve its property.

Africa,



Africa, and every part of the British empire, contributed, as the parent country did, proportionably, to settle the old Sugar Islands. As their value was discovered, by a wise ministry, to hasten the business of navigation, and make the English superior to that of the world, a bounty was given to increase the tonnage of merchant ships. Still no ship, or very few, ever quitted England full and returned empty. If she lent, she received returns; and if at present the capital is great that becomes invested in the islands, it is plain the money has accumulated and been well employed, at least in the old colonies, to which it was sent out progressively by the merchant, who was contented with a just return, and commissions that were moderate: if he could in the end of his traffic secure a comfortable retreat, his wishes were gratified. The planters too were happy with a moderate increase of their plantations. In the new islands the system has been the reverse, and the bad effects of unusual commissions,

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and of the Asiatic system, in sacrificing all the art and powers of man to raise an immense fortune in a short time, prove the folly and wickedness of principles so fatal to a trading nation, which had originally blended profit with honour. In the foundation of the French government, the ingredients are the same from one end to the other of the whole political structure; arbitrary will, and ignorance in idolising it, support the great families, and depress all others. The French colonies formed a sad spectacle of this truth. The land of Guadalupe, though rich, rendered little happiness to the planters, while the bounties of Providence were counteracted by that narrow policy which oppressed the islands. Industry was not only fettered by prohibitions, but they went so far as to fix a bar between Martinico and Guadalupe. On refined sugar the most cruel laws were imposed, so detrimental to the manufacture of raw sugar, that the whole general trade lost all the advantages so highly essential to keep  
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the planters on their legs. Great and infamous as the restrictions were, yet it was almost absurd to complain of their weight and folly. At last the English became both conquerors and deliverers of the French colonies, that had been so long enslaved. The French court, in receiving back her colonies, found lessons of wisdom imparted by an enemy; and they were attended to during the last war, insomuch that the islands were the leading objects of its care and protection: And since the peace, fortifications and other good designs have been carried on with unremitted vigour, particularly at Tobago and St. Lucia: and to improve on the old lessons of the English, the French have done all in their power to cultivate trade, and make it as free from restraint as possible. To accomplish the great object of commerce and navigation, free ports are declared at Martinico and Tobago. These free ports are intended to draw all the sources of wealth from the British islands, and prevent their emerging

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from



from the distresses of a cruel and destructive war. In regard to Free-ports, I call the attention of ministry, and hope to see it attached to those assistances so critically demanded to keep the West India islands from falling into that decay, which may be apprehended from want of infusion of fresh commerce, and also an increase of inhabitants, that is as essentially required. The very name of a free-port carries congeniality with the feelings of a nation boasting of liberty. England once thought a free-port essential to the being of Jamaica itself; and the granting of that indulgence produced great advantages, without which, and the continued resources from the Spanish main, that very important island would never have been brought to so splendid a figure, which is happily seen in the number of ships clearing outwards and inwards annually. Five hundred under one column, and nearly the same under the other at the Custom House, prove the value of that island. And as the means of cultivating it originally

originally are well known to have received no small assistance from the causes I have mentioned, to promote the energy of its commerce, I am an advocate for continuing a free-port at Jamaica, made subservient to the staple objects of navigation; such as sugar, and the staple manufactures of Great Britain. Articles of that description should not be suffered to be shipped in any bottom but such as belongs to the mother country, according to the old wise navigation-act. While it is secured by a constant attention to the staple produce and commerce, both of England and the Colonies, no detriment whatsoever can possibly arise to hurt it. A French officer, much engaged in the interest of America, in a public letter to the minister, desired his definition of a free-port. The answer was given in terms perfectly liberal and just; but at the same time, it explained the nature of a free-port, in giving permission to all nations to enter, and trade; yet it by no means goes so far as to preclude some

laws to regulate the clearing out and admitting ships of every nation, according to treaty in some respects, and self-preservation in others. A free-port is also a temporary indulgence, not to be continued a moment longer than the national interest of each country is promoted, and in which ports are the public property.

A port is still free, when it admits ships of all nations, though on certain conditions allowed by government ; such as the tonnage of every ship, and such restraints as I have already pointed out to preserve the leading branches of native produce and home manufactures. But though such restrictions are just to prevent jealousy, yet it is hardly possible for foreigners to attempt to vie with our own merchants, who, by their connections, and great abundance of home manufactures, command the sale of them in the markets of the colonies. No foreign ship, or very few, ever enter a West India port, without a knowledge of its probable wants ;



wants ; and to have such relieved by even a foreign bottom, is only to receive fresh stamina in those instances, which the parent country is unable to preserve ; but it must be considered that every foreign ship, on quitting the port, leaves so much money, not only for the accommodation of the planters, but consumption of English goods, that would be long unfold were foreigners excluded the market. I am therefore convinced of the utility of the freedom of a West India port ; and Lord Sheffield must pardon me, when I tell him his opinions relative to commerce, are partial, full of error, and repugnant to the old established principles, by which England was once able to form the great meridian of the commercial world. The shackles on commerce have been put on, in later periods by ministers, who did not perfectly understand the nature of trade. This melancholy truth is conspicuous in the long catalogue of prohibited goods. Instead of such prohibitions, were moderate taxes affixed, the revenue would

would be increased ; and such a substitution of well-digested taxes in the place of prohibitions, would again admit English ingenuity into foreign markets, from which it is now excluded by reprisals.

## SECTION II.

**G**RENADA being the most Windward Island, and uniting the double advantages from her situation, to carry on a diffusive trade in peace, and to defend her acquired wealth, should a war break out, sound policy demands a free-port in that island, and also a royal dock. Nature having been so partial in forming the Lagoon and Careenage, for a harbour at the mouth of a fine bay, defended by a crescent of rocks; the inhabitants also having voted so liberal a sum to carry on this bulwark, for the defence of the English navy, government cannot withhold its concurrence to complete so laudable an undertaking, not only for the defence of the Windward Islands, but annoyance of the enemy, who would crush the English in those seas, were the natural advantages of Grenada to be neglected.



neglected. Grenada, from its vicinity to the Spanish main and Trinidad, would reap infinite benefit from a free-port; the spreading influence of which would fill the adjacent islands with Spanish money; and with its increase, population would speedily follow. At present the island is not half populated, according to its extent and fertility. The estates are too large, and should be divided; but without a fresh circulation of trade, and increase of people, the monopoly of estates will continue, and the sums advanced by a few individuals will tend to perpetuate those debts, which can only be paid by a subdivision of estates. Why was St. Kitt's so well cultivated and peopled, but because the original settlers were limited to the number of acres each planter was allowed to possess?

On that vast country of the Caraccas and the Main, the Spaniards have expressed a strong desire to cultivate a commercial intercourse with the English. On the other  
hand,

hand, the French, at Martinico and Guadalupe, are combining against the island of Dominica, and will by no means permit any advantage of a free port, to increase the trade of the island during a peace; and whenever a war breaks out, it cannot be long tenable but by the assistance of a navy that might find in the harbour of Grenada that protection from bad weather, to which the bays of Dominica, being quite open, would expose a fleet, and make it impossible to keep the seas. The Old Leeward Islands require assistance, and I am happy to point out a mode of giving it, which would by no means injure the public revenue.

The four and a half now paid and levied in each island, after the deductions, before the sugar, for the payment of it, is exported, and before the sales are perfected on its arrival in England, leave not one half that is paid by the planters, in the coffers of the public. Therefore let the four and a half cease to be paid in the West Indies, and one

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half

half of the present ideal tax, be paid on the arrival of the sugar, together with the present English duties. And to give general relief to the planters and sugar merchants, I recommend to have sugar bonded, as tobacco is bonded, in public warehouses ; or if the merchant on entering the sugar on its arrival, were to be allow'd a *douceur* instead of giving his bond for future payments, such an alternative would be productive of ease when wanted ; and from the opulent merchant, immediate payment of the duties would be life to the revenue.—The merchants have lately charged commissions on the payment of the duties, which thereby become more oppressive.

Some merchants too charge immense commissions, instead of the old two and a half per cent. which was invariably adhered to, until the ceded islands became objects of speculation, widely differing from the old, moderate and just principles, which formed the standard of colonial trade. The  
policy



policy of England should look to such fatal changes, and frame salutary laws to prevent them for the future.

In regard to the refiners, to give them encouragement, is to add to the wealth of the colonies. And to accomplish this double view, I would recommend a debenture on refined sugar, that should be granted to every exporter of it above a given quantity, and to fix an emporium of refined sugar in the dominions of Great Britain. Sound policy points out the port of Harburgh, in the Hanoverian territories, as worthy the public attention, and situated to carry on a very diffusive trade, now monopolized by the remaining Hanse-town ; which, though justly celebrated for its trade, yet is not so well situated in any respect, as the English port I am now recommending, to supplant both the Hollanders and Hamburgers. The sugar-refining workmen are principally foreigners, to whom some particular attention should be given at this juncture; when

new refining houses will be set up in America. To prevent such from diminishing that very valuable branch of English commerce, an asylum should be publickly erected to receive the refining manufacturer, should he, by the infirmities of age, or accidents, be reduced and unable to support himself; and, as a farther encouragement to the foreign refiner of sugar, he ought to be declared by law a denizen after three years residence and employment in England.

## SECTION III.

**W**HEN the dispute first broke out between America and the English ministry, I was the humble mover of a petition that was presented to avert the evils that followed the rejection of it. I am now as sanguine for an union of trade between England and America, through the medium of the Sugar Colonies. By their long usage and dependence for lumber and horses upon America, and the uncertainty and expence of getting either from any other part of the world, an intercourse is highly essential ; and it is fortunate for England that America, in her turn, has been as long and habitually dependent on the colonies for the vending her little horses and lumber, which in Europe would be unable to find a market.



The English colonies require a greater supply of the productions from America, than the extensive and fertile islands of France ever can possibly demand. This is another argument for an union of trade. As nature has pointed it out, habit has confirmed it, and policy, as strong as either, calls for the continuance. The intercourse would be carried on in small vessels, as it always has been ; and these little carriers would divert the attention of America from building large ships, which would be required to make more distant voyages, and for which a greater number of sailors would be also expedient.

This consideration is annexed to an intercourse between the colonies and America, and pleads strongly for the constant habits of trade and reciprocal benefits, by which all rancour and jealousy would be removed, and permanent peace secured : and the stronger, as the violation of it would deprive the planters on the sea-coast of their support

port and livelihood; and the traders of their employment in the colony trade, upon which they might be made to depend, and become subservient to the Sugar Islands, and to the parent country also, as each of them would be a depôt for its manufactures and goods, that require the assistance of such consumers, as may be found in the colony market, and there only.

Trading vessels in America put her in no formidable state when the war broke out. The same causes must produce the same effects. These little vessels are built for temporary purposes, and soon become unfit for sea. They are worked with very few hands, and therefore cannot awaken any jealousy in England. Let us reverse this commercial system, and, instead of it, let us say, No; with America no intercourse shall be allowed. From this moment, at the side of the planter, you place a fatal arrow; he cannot be possessed of common sense, but he must see in the map, how

how nearly he is situated to a formidable neighbour, as capable to annoy as to befriend. If the planter be thus perplexed, and made of all mankind the most precarious in his situation; the merchant will feel the fatal effects; the manufacturer will daily find his orders diminish; and the sinking tonnage of England shew the deathly pulse of its trade and navigation.

Whilst I plead for an union of trade already explained, I must pursue the same liberal principles a little farther, and declare myself a friend to Canada and Nova Scotia; and in order to promote the prosperity of each, I propose an exemption from colony taxes, for every ship containing a certain number of horses, cattle, provisions, or quantity of lumber, imported into any of the British islands.

An intercourse between the British Sugar Colonies and America has been a topic of disputation in the political circles. Some assert the impolicy of such an intercourse; some



some the possibility of their doing well without any assistance from America ; others have censured the planters for devoting so much land to the sugar-cane, and not cultivating the growth of provisions, as well as lumber. These considerations go a great way to form the Crisis of the Sugar Islands. It is well known that the cane is of all plants that most adapted to the soil and climate of the West Indies ; and yet not one year in seven do the estates in sugar make a good crop in either of the islands, yet the planters have followed the hand of nature and reason, in cultivating the plant most answerable to their care and expence : and both, for above a century, have been confined to the planting and manufacturing sugar, encouraged by the parent country, as well as governed by the lights of experience. Fifteen thousand pounds go but a little way in stocking an estate, and building of works. After a capital is once engaged in a plantation, it is quite impossible to convert it to any other

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design.

design. Most other considerations give way, and the planter has no choice. But, says the coffee-house politician, why not plant provisions? Why not suffer the growth of timber to accompany the cultivation of the cane? The answer is this. In the most comprehensive estate in the West Indies, neither nature nor art has ever been able to raise such a succession of materials as are wanted, and implied in the term of lumber. At the same time, in the West Indies, frequent droughts are fatal to vegetables; therefore the Sugar Colonies have from their infancy depended on America for lumber and provisions. The intercourse has lasted above a century. Besides, the West Indies are liable to such ravages from storms, that even Jamaica would have been lately a scene of horror, had not lumber and provisions from America relieved the distress of the island. It is therefore plain that the Sugar Colonies, in different seasons, and upon emergencies  
peculiar

peculiar to the climate, cannot exist without America.

The vending of Rum of an inferior nature to America, has been a pillar upon which the planters have occasionally rested. Such rum it is in vain to send to Europe. Indeed the planters cannot afford to pay the freight and duty on it. Sound policy should be full of eyes, and look to every object that can produce any advantage to a state, or happiness to individuals. But, say the Anti-Americans, your colony-trade must not be carried on in any degree to America, because it is become independent. According to this doctrine, because Russia, or any other state is independent, England must cease to take from such quarters all those materials for equipping her navy, which her own soil does not produce. The doctrine is both immoral and impolitic, and flies in the face of nature, having so kindly in different climates allotted peculiar benefit, to ce-



ment different nations, and bind them by a social chain of conveniency and comfort. The same hand which would fix a bar between England and America, would gratify the favorite design of our enemy, in raising their own, and crushing the English Colonies—which have always dreaded the vicinity of such insidious Neighbours. If America will agree to send lumber, and other articles wanted in the colonies, in vessels of limited tonnage, and be content to take your surplusage of rum, and such other articles of commerce, as might be enumerated in a treaty of mutual benefit, England should lose no time in adjusting this system, before the habits of reprisals become frequent and inveterate. French rum is very inferior to the English, for this plain reason, because the brandy and wines of France, form the staple of the European markets, and rum is totally excluded from them; but at present the American states, to encourage the French colonies, admit their rum with a duty inferior to that  
affixed

affixed to the English. This privilege will certainly be attended with others, unless the care and wisdom of the English legislature seasonably prevent such alarming confederacies to take place against the balance of our trade. The liberal bounties once given by the English to encourage the rice trade, turpentine, and other American productions, have ceased, and will be felt by the states very materially. The rice imported since the war, has but paid the expence of its carriage and duties laid on it. America will be glad to repossess the market of England for such and other branches of her commerce. In regard to tobacco, the bargain made with France is too pernicious to the planters to be long preserved; mutual dissatisfaction has arisen; and though Mr. Alexander has been sent out to inspect the tobacco, and keep up the terms of the contract, yet he has by no means been able to please the Farmers-General of France. This is therefore a critical juncture to fix  
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the vibrating state of our own and the American trade.

India has had a competent share of legislative regard and attention; Ireland has received singular instances of both. The colonies in the West Indies now rap at the bosom of England for a share of its wisdom and protection.



## SECTION IV.

**T**O give the commerce of Great Britain a new elastic spring, and at the same time to support the landed interest under its pressures, the reduction of interest is essentially required ; and as usury, under the sanction of annuities, raised by bond and judgment, is so corrosive a serpent on the very vitals of the state, its policy should be directed to crush that efficient cause of general ruin. Usury plunders the man in distress ; robs the youth coming into the world ; it dries up all the resources required to nourish the roots of commerce. The interest of money being reduced in England, should be also reduced in the Colonies, and fixed in each at the same standard. If the interest of money was equitable, and adequate to the income of landed gentlemen before the late war, it now becomes just the reverse ; as  
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so many new taxes have been laid, and the best estates are so considerably sunk in their value. The monied men, during the ravages of the war, have been the only gainers by the calamity. The reduction of interest can be now comfortably borne by this opulent class of the people, who contribute less than any other to the payment of the taxes. The interest paid by the planters, particularly to the Dutch, is a burden too heavy to stagger under; augmented as it has been by the last taxes laid on, when the planters were tortured by the severity of a war, which, during the whole operations of it, was conducted by the enemy to molest and ruin the English Sugar Colonies.

The importance of these depressed islands require but few arguments to shew it to the country gentlemen and others, who seem to have but little connection with them, and to depend not at all on their preservation. The word Creole too is sometimes  
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made a term of reproach; but to silence all such illiberal tongues for ever, let us reflect on the loss of America; and if not the value, let the disgrace of that dismemberment, change terms of contempt for others of friendship and brotherly endearment to the remaining colonies. In one bold truth, the colonies were the cradles of your commerce and navigation, still assisting each in their maturity, as they nurtured both in their infancy. The country gentlemen should remember the calculation of Sir Robert Walpole, which gave but a very short list of gentlemen who could spend a thousand a year. What has so abundantly increased it? The answer gives the honour to trade. At the custom-house we shall be informed, that to shake the colony-trade, would displace the main pillar upon which that commercial building is supported; to the same cause England is indebted for the resources required to support the dignity of the state, and to pay the interest of the public loans. The landed interest would be



unequal to these demands. Thus the general welfare of a trading country is so nearly interwoven, that to unravel a thread, seemingly small, would endanger the whole fabric.

Let us now proceed to find out the exact condition of the planters, in order to fix their vibrating habits in favour of England. Education of their children in our schools, has been the tie by which the colonies have been so firmly bound to the mother country ; but sorry am I to observe, that the education of England is become so neglected, and so expensive, that planters will be induced to send their children to America, unless some regulations be made relative to the English seminaries of learning. Where children are educated, they attach the endearment of a home ; and should the planters be induced to send their children to America for education, the colonies will be a precarious possession to England.

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The best estates on the other side the Atlantic, are possessed by gentlemen who reside and spend their income in England; but no inference should be drawn from the opulence of such, to oppress the resident planters. They form the useful class of your colonists, and their condition is as much to be pitied, as the splendor of the West Indians of opulence is apt to excite envy. The well-disposed merchant, who is as happy to trade as he abhors to plunder, seldom appears in the Gazette in the list of the unfortunate. During the whole course of the war, few such instances happened. This plainly shews the dangers of the trader to be not equal to the difficulties of the planters. Surrounded as they are by such, it may be asked, Why did they employ their capital in so precarious a manufacture as that of sugar? The answer is this. In the infancy of the colonies, they held out temptations to men of enterprize; and America was then lost in the obscurity of woods. At that period the taxes were few,

and as a father began, a son was proud to complete, a new settlement. Successors to property are urged on by pleasing hopes of completing an hereditary estate, though small, and incumbered with difficulties. By degrees the planter became the best friend to the English manufacturers, particularly of the iron trade. He became a friend to the cloth manufacturer, and in short, to every branch of commerce, supporting, if not originally giving, the English nation the boasted character of the Lords of the Ocean.

When the colonies were originally settled, some regulations were confirmed by law ; such as that by which the planters were forced to send their produce and manufacture to the British market only. Other regulations are legalized by custom ; such as restraining all foreign sugar from the markets belonging to the King of England : but the most valuable principles are unwritten, and conveyed in reciprocal rights, that bind the  
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the mother-country and colonies, knitting together the most distant parties of the whole empire of commerce.

In regard to the last taxes laid on sugar, it has been said, that they will be borne by the consumer. This doctrine is not true; because the taxes and expences on sugar, are paid by the planter before a single hog-head comes to the market. He may be undone before the consumer comes to his relief, unless the bonding of sugar should be permitted; and in that case the consumer would undoubtedly come to the aid of the planter.

Ye landed gentlemen, remember the planter during the war saved you from a fifth shilling. Reflect that colonies are become objects of general competition. Let revolted America be a spur to your care of the loyal commercial colonies. Set a proper value on those you possess, from the losses and disgrace you have sustained. Some speculativists

latists contend for the use of honey instead of sugar. This doctrine would derive some force from the supposition, that in the early ages, the bee and simplicity united, to confirm virtue and happiness.

To simplicity I am a most zealous friend, but not to the romantic ideas of it, that would destroy learning, science and commerce ; all concurring to proclaim the Omnipotence of the Great God we adore. That there is a blot in commerce I allow, and see it with pain in the condition of the Negroes. Still I rejoice to find it much improved in the essential point contained in the liberty of Christianity.

Baptism is openly tolerated by the amiable, benevolent Governor of Grenada : May his example be followed by others, and slavery, that is the greatest curse in this, no longer be suffered to carry its miserable consequences to the next world,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Of J. DEBRETT, *Piccadilly*, may be had,

1. The Constitutional Guide.
2. The Protestant Barrier, &c.
3. A Collection of Letters addressed to  
the Greatest Politician.
4. A Speech intended to be spoken on  
the Hustings of Guild-Hall.



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